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## THE LONG, HARD ROAD

**I**N entering this war we are undertaking no easy task; we are entering upon a long, hard road. Almost as in the twinkling of an eye we find ourselves deeply concerned with such matters as the salvation of Belgium and France, and with the credits of all our allied nations. We seem to be fighting to maintain the British Empire on the one hand, and on the other to change the government of Germany by force. The centralization of power in the hands of the few proceeds apace. At the same time that we are trying to make the world safe for democracy, England has suppressed her democratic journals, or prevented their circulation, even in this country; at least this is true of *The Nation*, *Common Sense*, *The Labor Leader*, the *Cambridge Magazine*. In that land four thousand democrats, socialists, labor leaders are in jail as political prisoners. Our respect for small states must be very embarrassing to England as she contemplates Ireland; indeed, we shall find it more and more difficult to square our own theories with our own practice towards our immediate south. To clear up the difficulties involved in situations like these is no easy job.

If to these matters we add the task of breaking up the U-boat business, of perpetuating constitutional safeguards, of punishing Germany, the thing becomes still more difficult. But the end is not yet. We must soon answer the question, Do we fight that England may hold India, Persia, and the German colonies? We shall soon be asked for our demands regarding Armenia, a dismembered Turkey, and German "rights in Mesopotamia." It is now time for us to ask ourselves what disposition we feel should be made of Constantinople, Finland, and Ukrainia. We are to be consulted about the dismemberment of Austria, the disposition of Trentino, and Albania. What shall our position be? And then there are "Eastern Problems" which we shall have to help solve.

All of these matters present difficulties for us which we shall find it very difficult to escape. International relations constitute at last a tremendous challenge to our best thought and political wisdom. For this reason every constructive worker for international peace must welcome studies like that which we print elsewhere in these columns under the heading "*International Legislation and Administration*," by Alpheus H. Snow. It will be observed that Mr. Snow considers the Hague Conferences as bearing the same relation to a governed world as a constitutional convention bears to the political affairs of a state. International legislation, grants Mr. Snow, will continue to be formulated by national legislatures and treaty-making organs; but to these he would add an "*International Directorate*" having full charge

of the judicial and administrative aspects of international political effort. The present Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Projected Court of Arbitral Justice would come under the control of this International Directorate, in cooperation, of course, with the executives of the nations involved. Mr. Snow proposes that the sanctions for our international organs and processes must consist of what he happily calls "persuasive force." But Mr. Snow's contribution should be carefully read to be understood.

Attention is here called to Mr. Snow's article for the reason that all of the difficulties now confronting us, and destined to confront us still more seriously, must be approached and contributed to in the light of our large and most pressing demand, namely, that nations shall first set up the necessary organs and provide for the necessary processes that shall make the statement, the interpretation, and the application of the laws of justice between nations possible. If we neglect this, if we fail here, the road towards the composition of our difficulties will be long indeed.

## THE RUSSIAN TERMS

**T**HE world has already been profoundly influenced by the revolution in Russia. The nations do not forget that the Russian revolution of 1905 was followed by popular uprisings in Turkey, Prussia, Portugal, and China. It is reasonable to assume that the present success of the forces of democracy in Russia are widely and profoundly influencing aspirations of men for democracy again.

It is true that we are far from understanding it all. The Czar has been overthrown, a result accomplished by the Russian revolutionists. Among these revolutionists were the workers and soldiers, among whom there were many Socialists. With that wing of the Socialists most impregnated with that type of socialism known as "international socialism," there has been and still is a demand for "immediate peace." Then, too, there are the priests and representatives of the old régime distributed throughout Russia with a strong leaning toward a counter-revolution. The agrarian problems in Russia, the imperialism of the liberal bourgeoisie, the recent appeal of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies to the Socialists of the warring nations in the interest of an immediate universal peace, "the glorious struggle and defiance of the Russian proletariat," the possible fate of the various nationalities throughout that wide area, all present a somewhat blurred and bewildering picture to the average American mind.

The whole situation, however, was considerably clarified, June 21, when Special Ambassador Boris A. Bakh-

metieff, head of the Russian mission to the United States, made his "Statement to the American People." He said:

**"The provisional government, rejecting, in accord with the whole people of Russia, all thought of separate peace, puts it openly, as its deliberate purpose, the promptest achievement of universal peace.**

"Such peace to presume no dominion over other nations, no seizure of their national property nor any forced usurpation of foreign territory; peace with no annexations or contributions, based upon the free determination by each nation of its destinies.

#### No Separate Peace.

"Being fully convinced that the establishment of democratic principles in its internal and external policy has created a new factor in the striving of allied democracies for durable peace and fraternity of all nations, the provisional government will take preparatory steps for an agreement with the allies founded on its declaration of March 27.

**"The provisional government is conscious that the defeat of Russia and her allies would be the source of the greatest misery and would not only postpone, but even make impossible the establishment of universal peace on a firm basis.**

"The provisional government is convinced that the revolutionary army of Russia will not allow the German troops to destroy our allies on the western front and then fall upon us with the whole might of their weapons.

"The chief aim of the provisional government will be to fortify the democratic foundations of the army and organize and consolidate the army's fighting power for its defensive as well as offensive purposes.

"The last decision of the Russian congress of the workingmen's and soldier's delegates, the decision of the all-Russian peasant congress, the decision of the duma, the voice of the country as expressed from day to day by almost the entire Russian press, in resolutions adopted at different conferences and congresses—all these confirm their full support to this national program and leave not the slightest doubt that Russia is decided as to the necessity to fight the German autocracy until the conditions for a general and stable peace in Europe are established.

#### Will Rout Out Prussianism.

"Such decision is becoming more and more evident each day by practical work and results, and shows itself in the pressing and rapid reorganization of the army which is now being fulfilled under the firm and efficient measures adopted by Minister Kerensky.

**"The Russian people thoroughly understand and are fully convinced that it is absolutely necessary to root out the autocratic principles which underline and are represented by German militarism and which threaten the peace, the freedom, and the happiness of the world.**

"The Russian people feel most keenly that no stable peace can be secured until the German autocratic principles are destroyed, and that otherwise the revolution will have been in vain and its achievements will perish.

"New Russia, in full accord with the motives which impelled the United States to enter the war, is striving to destroy tyranny, to establish peace on a secure and permanent foundation and to make the world safe for democracy.

"We are representing here the political unity which has been crystallized in Russia and around which a national program has been developed.

"To our host of friends in the United States we appeal and without distinction of party or class we will work hand in hand for the common cause."

The day following this statement telegrams announced a report from our representative in Russia, Mr. Elihu Root, that while the residents of Petrograd were inclined toward pessimism, yet he felt the situation throughout Russia to be greatly improved. In the light

of all the facts, therefore, including the fact that great men of Russia are coming forward and meeting the crisis with a large spirit of constructive statesmanship, free peoples everywhere may, we judge, look upon Russia and be glad.

## LIBERTY AND ITS PRICE

**"P**ERHAPS it may be permitted to us to be glad that we have an opportunity to show the principles that we profess to be living principles, that live in our hearts, and to have a chance by the pouring out of our blood and treasure to vindicate the things which we have professed." These words of our President, uttered on Memorial Day, are fine words, inspiring words. In them he calls upon this people for a great sacrifice for a high ideal. No greater tribute to this nation could be found than that confidence in his people with which our leader uttered them. Yet one can but wonder if those who heard them understood the full meaning of the sacrifice that is implied. "Blood and treasure"!

Treasure is not merely money, comfort, ease, content. Treasure is the essence of labor. It is toil. It is long, hard days, sleepless nights, perhaps, the agony of human exertion, the striving ceaselessly for a little of the good of life, the hard-won and often bitter fruit of civilization. It represents the highest efforts of a strength that is ever on the wane, the sturdy blows that must one day grow weaker, the bearing of the burden that will one day crush the bearer. It is not merely so much metal. It is blood and sweat shed humbly and without glory; it is the desiccated heart and soul of the workingman. Thus it must be remembered that it is no surplus we are pouring out, no easy substance of which we have a superfluity and of which we became possessed without cost. We are pouring out the sinews, the youth, the strength, the aspirations, the tears, the agonies of countless men and women and children, living, dead, and yet unborn. This is the treasure we pay for liberty.

But also we pay in blood. We pay in lives, shattered or snuffed out. How fine it would be if each of us could give his life, if all those others could give their lives, to buy liberty and peace for the world! But that is not enough, nor is it all that is meant by paying in blood. The common soldier is perhaps glad to give his life for liberty, for democracy, for a governed world. It is a fine, free gift, which ennobles all of us in the giving. But he is not let off with this alone. He must also take life. Not only must he ascend to personal sacrifice; he must descend also to slaughter. The purity of his free gift must be besmirched with the blood of those whom he must rend and stab and torture unto death. He must kill and maim. He must lace the flesh of his fellowman with agony. He must widow and orphan the inno-